

# Affiliation and Transmission in Daoism

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## Canonical fasts according to Lu Xiuqing

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At the end of his *Dongxuan lingbao wugan wen* 洞玄靈寶五感文 (DZ 1278; hereafter, *Wugan wen*), Lu Xiuqing 陸修靜 (406-477) gives a list of the fasts (*zhai* 齋) that we may call “canonical,” in the very precise sense that one of the prime movers in the creation of the earliest Daoist canon seems to have intended, in making this list, to define a new orthopraxy in the Daoist community then aborning.<sup>1</sup> My first aim is to examine this list in order better to understand the principles of inclusion and exclusion operative at a time when Daoism was jockeying for a place as a state-sponsored religion.

Lu Xiuqing’s list is divided into two sections and a supplement for the famous mud fast (*tutan zhai* 塗炭齋).<sup>2</sup> The first section, composed of two

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1 On the role of Lu Xiuqing in the complex process leading to the creation of a Daoist canon, see Stephen Bokenkamp, “Lu Xiuqing, Buddhism, and the First Daoist Canon,” in *Culture and Power in the Reconstitution of the Chinese Realm, 200-600*, Scott Pearce, Audrey Spiro, & Patricia Ebrey, eds. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 181-199. In his *Rikuchō dōkyō girei no kenkyū* 六朝道教儀禮研究 (Tokyo: Tōhō shoten, 1999), pp. 173-208, Yamada Toshiaki 山田利明 uses the same list as the basis for describing the “establishment of the method of the Daoist fast.” His approach being descriptive rather than analytic, he is concerned not at all with the logic of the list and only secondarily with the origin of the various rituals listed. When I first wrote this article in 2005, Lü Pengzhi made a number of major corrections to it. Since then, he has written a book and a whole series of essays which have been crucial to my revision. Summaries of his discoveries may be found in his “Daoist Rituals,” in John Lagerwey & Lü Pengzhi (eds), *Early Chinese Religion Part Two: The Period of Division (220-589 AD)* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1245-1349, and, more extensively, in his *Tangqian daoyiao yishi shigang* 唐前道教儀式史綱 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008). I wish to thank him and Stephen Bokenkamp for their valuable suggestions for further improvements after the Berlin conference in June 2011.

2 Henri Maspero, “Essai sur le taoïsme aux premiers siècles de l’ère chrétienne,” *Mélanges posthumes sur les religions et l’histoire de la Chine, t. 2 Le taoïsme* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967), 71-222, p. 160, notes that the term *tutan* “signifies in a general way the black filth that covers the faces of the poor,” but chooses to translate “fast of mud and charcoal.” Because the *locus classicus* refers to the results of famine and war, the standard English translation has been “mud and ashes.” In the text of the ritual itself, however, the term means simply “smearing the forehead with mud.” Whatever the translation, the act is clearly one of penance.

“methods” (*fa* 法), is the Shangqing fast of Communication with the Perfected 洞真上清之齋. As these are rites for individual practice, we will leave them aside here and focus on the community rituals, to wit, the nine methods of the Lingbao fast of Communication with Mystery 洞玄靈寶之齋, plus the mud fast.<sup>3</sup> The representative – and influential – character of this list may be seen from the following table, which shows how Daoist elites classified rituals through the mid-Tang<sup>4</sup>:

DZ 1278 陸修 靜 洞玄 靈寶 五 感文	洞真 上清 一絕 群齋	洞真 上清 二孤 影齋	洞玄 靈寶 一金 籙齋	洞玄 靈寶 二黃 籙齋	洞玄 靈寶 三明 真齋	洞玄 靈寶 四三 元齋	洞玄 靈寶 五八 節齋	洞玄 靈寶 六自 然齋	洞玄 靈寶 七洞 神三 皇齋	洞玄 靈寶 八太 一齋	洞玄 靈寶 九指 教齋	三元 塗炭 齋	
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- 3 My distinction between “individual” and “community” rites is stated by Lu Xiuqing as one between rites which “put the accent on non-action” 無為為業 (5a4) and ones which “put the accent on action” 以有為為宗 (5b1). As Lü Pengzhi shows in his book, *Tangqian*, Lü’s inclusion of the Sanhuang and two Zhengyi rituals under the Lingbao rubric is not followed in texts like the *Zhaijie lu* 齋戒錄 (which Lü dates to the Five Dynasties or early Song). In his forthcoming “Lingbao liuzhai kao” 靈寶六齋考, *Wenshi* 文史, 2011.3, Lü suggests this inclusion of non-Lingbao rituals “may be because these three rituals were newly created in the fifth century in imitation of the Lingbao rituals.” Lü also notes that rubric seven of Lu Xiuqing’s canonical list of Lingbao scriptures 靈寶經目, dated 437 and included in the *Tongmen lun* 通門論 of Song Wenming 宋文明, in fact already lists the six Lingbao fasts of the *Zhaijie lu* as the “six items” 六條. While this is a perfectly plausible interpretation of the *Wugan wen* list, I will be suggesting a quite different reading of Lu Xiuqing’s “mind-set.”
- 4 I would like to thank my student, Tania Boucabeille, whose research contributed to the preparation of this table composed of ritual lists found in Daoist and Buddhist texts between 453 and the mid-Tang. We may add to them the *Dongxuan lingbao daoxue keyi* 洞玄靈寶道學科儀 (DZ 1126; hereafter, *Daoxue keyi*), 1.17b-18a, a text which is probably early Tang: after five “rituals of audience for register disciples” 錄生朝儀, the *Five thousand words*, and the Lingbao, Shangqing, and Sanhuang traditions, the list provides the names of eighteen fasts. Among the novelties by comparison with the list of Lu Xiuqing, there is a fast of the Eight Emperors 八帝齋 (Sanhuang tradition), a great fast of the three and the five 三五大齋 (Zhengyi?), a Lingbao fast for the revivification of the corpse by quintuple sublimation 靈寶五練生尸齋, and the fast of the Five Kings of the abyss of great peace 太平洞淵五王齋 (Shenzhou?).

DZ 463 要修戒律鈔 <sup>5</sup>	1. 上清齋一絕群	上清齋二清壇太真儀	2. 靈寶齋法一金籙齋	靈寶齋法二黃籙齋	靈寶齋法三明真齋	靈寶齋法四三元齋	靈寶齋法五八節齋	靈寶齋法六自然齋	3. 洞神齋	4. 太一齋	5. 指教齋	6. 塗炭齋	
DZ 1032 卷37道門大論 <sup>6</sup>	1. 上清齋一絕群獨宴	上清齋二心齋	2. 靈寶齋法一金籙	靈寶齋法二黃籙	靈寶齋法三明真	靈寶齋法四三元	靈寶齋法五八節	靈寶齋法六自然	3. 洞神齋	4. 太一齋	5. 指教齋	6. 塗炭齋	
DZ 1138 無上秘要	太真上中下元齋卷 <sup>5</sup> 4-57		金籙齋卷 <sup>5</sup> 3	黃籙齋卷 <sup>5</sup> 4	明真齋卷 <sup>5</sup> 1	三元齋卷 <sup>5</sup> 2			三皇齋卷 <sup>4</sup> 9			塗炭齋卷 <sup>5</sup> 0	
DZ 336 業報姻緣經 <sup>7</sup>	1. 太真		2. 金籙	3. 黃籙	4. 明真	6. 三元		5. 自然	8. 洞神			7. 塗炭	9. 神咒

5 The figures given here represent the categories of classification of the *Jielü chao*, 8.1b-2a.

6 See *Yunji qiqian* (DZ 1032) 7.3b-4a. The quotation of the *Daomen dalun* in the *Zhaijie lu* contains three Shangqing fasts and the six Lingbao fasts; the categories 3 to 6 here are not included.

7 See *Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing* 太上洞玄靈寶業報因緣經 (hereafter, *Yebao jing*), 5.3b-4b.

P 2256 = S 3001			金籙	黃籙	明真	三元	八節	自然 <sup>8</sup>					
DZ 1124 玄門 大義 <sup>9</sup>	濟度品三上清齋	極道心齋坐忘	濟度籙一金籙齋	濟度籙三黃籙齋	濟度品六明真齋	濟度品七三元齋		濟度品二自然齋	濟度品一三皇齋		濟度品四指教齋	濟度品五塗炭齋	濟度籙二玉籙齋 <sup>10</sup>
DZ 1129 道教 義樞 <sup>11</sup>	濟度品三上清齋	極道心齋坐忘	濟度籙一金籙齋	濟度籙三黃籙齋	濟度品六明真齋	濟度品七三元齋		濟度品二自然齋	濟度品一三皇齋		濟度品四指教齋	濟度品五塗炭齋	濟度籙二玉籙齋
T 2110 辯正 論 <sup>12</sup>	濟度品三上清	極道心齋坐忘	濟度籙一金籙	濟度籙三黃籙	濟度品六明真	濟度品七三元		濟度品二自然	濟度品一洞神		濟度品四指教	濟度品五塗炭	濟度籙二玉籙

8 According to these manuscripts, the natural fast is used for a whole series of calendrical fasts, namely, the “six annual, the (three) long annual, and the ten monthly fasts, as well as those on *jiazi*, *gengshen*, and anniversary days” 自然齋之中有六法：歲六齋，歲（三）長齋，月十直齋，甲子，庚申，本命。

The author of the *Xuanmen dayi* adds the fast done on the days of the “eight articulations” 八節。

9 *Xuanmen dayi* 14-15a. A text which is very close but does not mention the categories *jidao* 極道 and *jidu* 濟度 may be found in the *Zhaijie lu*, 5a-b, and in the *Yunji qiqian*, 37.5b-6a, where it is attributed to the *Xuanmen dalun* 論 (see the next-to-the-last line of the table). The fact the *Xuanmen dayi* and the four following texts on the table belong to the same textual tradition may be seen in their system of classification, in virtually identical explanatory phrases, and in the addition of six calendrical fasts using the natural fast mentioned in note 8.

10 The citations of the *Xuanmen dalun* in the *Zhaijie lu* and the *Yunji qiqian* add that “this text does not yet circulate in this world.”

11 This text, virtually identical to that of the *Xuanmen dayi*, is found at 2.20b-21b.

12 *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論, T. 2110, vol. 52, p. 497b1-2.

	齋		齋	齋	齋	齋		齋	齋		齋	齋	齋
T 2112 甄正 論 <sup>13</sup>			籙 二 金 籙	籙 三 黃 籙	明 真	三 元		靈 寶 自 然				塗 炭	籙 一 玉 籙
DZ 1032 卷37 玄 門大 論 <sup>14</sup>	4. 上 清		1. 金 籙	3. 黃 籙	5. 明 真	8. 三 元	9. 八 節	12. 自 然	10. 三 皇 子 午 齋		6. 指 教 齋	7. 塗 炭	2. 玉 籙
DZ 1125 三洞 科 戒 營 始	正 一 法 籙 戒 朝 儀 符 等	洞 淵 神 咒 經	道 德 西 昇 等 經 ， 朝 儀	太 一 八 牒 通 甲 仙 籙	金 剛 童 子 籙	三 皇 內 真 諱	洞 神 經 14 卷	洞 玄 靈 寶 昇 玄 經 籙	洞 玄 靈 寶 赤 書 真 文 籙	靈 寶 中 盟 經		五 嶽 真 形 等 圖 籙	

As can be seen at a glance, Lu Xiujing’s list is very complete: there are only two rituals in the last column not mentioned by Lu, namely, the fast of divine incantations 神咒齋 from the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing* 太上洞玄靈寶業報因緣經 (DZ 336; hereafter, *Yebao jing*) and, in several early Tang texts, the fast of the jade register 玉籙齋. Moreover, there is not a single ritual in the *Wushang biyao* (DZ 1138), the imperial encyclopedia from ca. 574, that is not mentioned by Lu.<sup>15</sup>

13 *Zhenzheng lun* 甄正論, Xuan Yi 玄嶷, T. 2112, vol. 52, p. 567a28-b12.

14 Cf. note 10 above. Of an eleventh ritual, the “oratory fast” 靖齋, this is said: “It can last a thousand, one hundred, three, or seven days and is used by those training for perfection.”

15 The *Wushang biyao*, 35.1a, contains two groups of “new rituals redacted by the emperor” 御製新儀: the rituals of transmission (j. 35-40: the nocturnal invocation for all transmission rituals, followed by the rituals for the transmission of the ten precepts, the *Five thousand words*, the three sovereigns, the true writs [of the Lingbao canon], and the Shangqing texts), and the rituals of the fast as such (j. 48-57). *Juan* 48 provides the nocturnal invocation for all fasts; the contents of *juan* 49-57 is given on the table. In other words, the *Wushang biyao* represents a form of state Daoism that is even more

### The logic of the list: a first reading

We may begin by noting that Lu Xiuqing's list integrates the "bibliographical" notion of the Three Caverns but does not use it as a structuring principle: the two chief categories are those of the texts of the caverns of the Perfected and of Mystery, but the fast of the Three Sovereigns for Communication with the Gods 洞神三皇之齋 is presented as belonging to the liturgical tradition of Communication with Mystery. And we have already noted that the mud fast is an exception.<sup>16</sup> These facts are consistent with what we know of Lu Xiuqing: recipient and classifier of the entire range of elite Daoist texts of his period, he created (or used) the hierarchical notion of the Three Caverns while at the same time placing the Lingbao scriptures, second in the hierarchy of three, at the center of his universe. The fact that the Shangqing scriptures constitute a separate category, for individual as opposed to community rites, confirms that image: liturgist, Lu is in fact interested only in the Lingbao canon, source of all the rituals to which he gives his imprimatur.<sup>17</sup>

When we look closely at the list of nine Lingbao methods – reserving the mud fast for later – we may observe to begin with that the first two rituals are identified with “registers” 籙, followed by three fasts for “adepts” 學士. Next is the natural fast, which seems to have a universal character, useful for both adepts and lay faithful, then the fast of the Three Sovereigns, whose particularity is also underlined by the fact that the description of it scarcely mentions its function but focuses on details of its execution, and finally two fasts which get a mere five characters of explanation each. Regarding the two register fasts, it is worth noting that Lu's definition is still in practice today: the golden register fast is for the living, the yellow register fast for the dead. If we compare that with the *Daojiao yishu*, which incorporates the jade register fast, I conclude that the *Yishu* version is a “sumptuary” invention of the Tang. According to this text, the golden register fast is done “whenever there is a natural catastrophe, for the protection of the emperor,” while that of

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restricted than that of Lu Xiuqing. See Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao: somme taoïste du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 1981), pp. 60 and 63.

16 The importance of this fact has already been underscored by Yamada Akahiro 山田明廣, “Totan sai kō” 塗炭齋考, *Tōhō shukyō* 東方宗教 (2000), 47-67, p. 53.

17 For Wang Chengwen, the bibliographic notion of the Three Caverns is fully present in the Lingbao texts but is not yet hierarchical or, rather, gives pride of place to the Lingbao texts. See his *Dunhuang gu lingbao jing yu Jin Tang daojiao* 敦煌古靈寶經與晉唐道教 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2002), ch. 3, especially pp. 254-65. If we accept this understanding of the Lingbao texts themselves, then Lu Xiuqing clearly went beyond them, giving the clear hierarchical ranking described above, note 3.



jade is “to save the people, pray for good fortune, and confess faults,” and the yellow register fast is “to extirpate the nine generations of ancestors from suffering in hell.” That is, instead of the simple distinction between rites for the living and rites for the dead, the *Yishu* proposes two for the living – one for the sovereign, the other for the people – and one for the dead. This hierarchical approach takes over completely in Xuan Yi 玄嶷, *Zhenzheng lun* (T 2112), 52.567b. Xuan Yi asserts that the jade register is for the emperor, the golden for ministers, and the yellow for the general populace. But it is Lu Xiujing’s anthropological distinction that will carry the day in Daoist history and Chinese society.<sup>18</sup>

Among the three rituals for adepts, the first, the fast of the alliance with the perfected, is but the version for adepts of the yellow register fast. The two others are periodic rituals of confession, one of which seeks pardon for any infractions of the precepts transmitted to the adept, the other the elimination of all karmic faults of the adept and his seven generations of ancestors. If, so far, the logic of the list is without surprise, and indeed seems quite straightforward and clear, the relationship of the last four to the first five rituals is anything but. On the basis of the definitions given by Lu, it is hard to see what distinguishes the natural from the golden register fast, or in what way the fast of the Three Sovereigns is different from those for Shangqing adepts. As for the last two on the list, we have already noted that Lu’s laconic explanations explain nothing. What is going on?

Let us begin by examining the commentary in small characters that Lu adds to the main text. It provides details concerning the preparation of the sacred arena, dates for conducting the fast, and the primary rituals of which it is composed. Whereas for the first five rituals, nothing is said of who participates in them, no doubt because, as clearly Lingbao rituals, that goes without saying, the commentaries on the natural, Great One 太一齋, and teaching fasts 指教齋 all begin with information of this kind. Of the natural fast it is said that it can be done “either by a group of disciples 徒眾 or by a single person 一身.” The commentary on the Great One fast focuses exclusively on the issue of participation: “This is for people with the same contract. They purify themselves and act with determination. Everything should be done according to the method, with no admixture of other traditions. They should follow the same rules for kneeling, bowing, and declining with modesty. They should show respectful attention and observe

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18 See my “Questions of Vocabulary or How Shall We Talk About Chinese Religion?” Lai Chi Tim (ed.), *Daojiao yu minjian zongjiao yanjiu lunji* (Hong Kong: Xuefeng wenhua, 1999), 165-181.”

the utmost decorum” 皆契同，潔己厲志，施為唯法，不雜異學，跪拜揖讓同法磬折盡節也。 Finally, of the teaching fast it is said that it is “for use together by libationers and register pupils.”

This is the only explicit reference in the entire text to the Heavenly Master tradition, and on the basis of just this text we would be inclined to conclude that Lu Xiujing thought very little of this tradition. And yet, Lu’s best known extant text, the *Daomen kelüe*,<sup>19</sup> if it attacks the practices of a decadent church, clearly envisages no other ecclesiastical structure: the church is that of the Heavenly Masters. The dilemma this poses for modern interpreters becomes even more pressing when we realize that, in addition to the teaching fast that Lu explicitly identifies as Zhengyi, the natural, Great One, and mud fasts are all derived from the liturgies of the Heavenly Masters. Thus, on a list of ten forms of fast, four were, at least as regards their origins, Zhengyi rituals. What must we make of this? Before answering this question, let us examine each of the ten fasts, divided into the three categories of Lingbao, Sanhuang, and Zhengyi. For each ritual, we will begin with a translation of the succinct description given by Lu in his 437 Lingbao catalogue,<sup>20</sup> followed by that in the *Wugan wen* of 453 and then those afforded by the *Daomen dalun (Daomen)*,<sup>21</sup> the *Yebao jing*,<sup>22</sup> and the *Yishu*.

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- 19 *Lu xiansheng daomen kelue* 陸先生道門科略 (DZ 1127). See the excellent translation and presentation by Peter Nickerson, “Abridged Codes of Master Lu for the Daoist Community,” Donald S. Lopez (ed.), *Religions of China in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 347-359. Nickerson does not date the text but, according to Wang Chengwen, *Dunhuang*, p. 254, who refers to Tang Changru and Koboyashi Masayoshi, the consensus concerning this text is that it is a work of Lu’s youth, some twenty years prior to the *Wugan wen*.
- 20 See above, note 3. This catalogue only includes the six fasts classified as Lingbao, that is, the first six of the nine Lingbao fasts in the *Wugan wen*.
- 21 The text of the *Daomen*, often an abridged version of that of Lu Xiujing, is virtually identical to that of the *Jielü chao*.
- 22 5.3b-4b. The principal attempts at dating this text are those of Yoshioka and Ofuchi. The former considers it a text from the end of the Six Dynasties, while the latter places it in the early Tang. While my personal preference is for the earlier date, the exact date of the text is without importance here.

### Lingbao fasts<sup>23</sup>

1. The golden register fast (*jinlu zhai* 金籙齋): “To harmonize the Yin and the Yang, dissipate catastrophes and subjugate abnormalities, and pray for good fortune and an extended mandate for the sovereign” 調和陰陽，消災伏異，〔為〕帝王國主請福延祚; “To harmonize the Yin and the Yang and save the state.”<sup>24</sup> *Daomen*: “To save the sovereign.” *Yebao*: “This is the best ritual for restoring order in the land or for the people when there has been a natural catastrophe, an eclipse of the sun or moon, [abnormal] movements of the Big Dipper, anomalies in the movements of the five planets, wars, fires, floods, when the sovereign is in danger, epidemics erupt, or Yin and Yang are out of order.” *Yishu*: “To eliminate celestial catastrophes and protect the sovereign above.”

The version of this ritual in the *Wushang biyao*, j. 53, attributed to the *Dongxuan mengzhen kejing*, derives from the *Mengzhen ke*, central liturgical text in the Lingbao canon.<sup>25</sup> According to the *Mengzhen ke* (25a), this ritual was revealed when the most high Lord of the Tao requested a ritual that could be performed “in time of a natural catastrophe so major that the state itself is shaken. When there are movements of the heavenly bodies or abnormal climatic phenomena, wars or epidemics that put the sovereign in danger, murderous poisons that spread, and heavenly beings dying, what method can we use to exorcise these catastrophes?” The instructions for the celebration of this ritual given by Lu Xiuqing are very close to those of the *Mengzhen ke* as regards the five real writs (to be burned at the end), the five dragons, and the related lengths of silk, as well as for the length of the ritual as a function of the season and the number of lamps to be set out.<sup>26</sup> But, whereas the sacred arena in the *Mengzhen ke* has but one level whose dimensions are not stated, that of the *Wugan wen* has two, like the fast of the yellow register.

23 In his study of the Six Lingbao fasts (above, note 3), Lü Pengzhi cites extensively from the “primordial commencement old scripture” 元始舊經 group of Lingbao texts to demonstrate that the six fasts are all based on the texts of this group. He also thoroughly discusses Lu’s commentary in small characters.

24 Reading 政 for 正, after Lü Pengzhi, “Liuzhai kao.”

25 For the details, see my *Somme taoïste*, p. 161, n. 2. For a summary of the text, whose full title is *Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yukui mengzhen ke* 洞玄靈寶長夜之府九幽玉匱明真科 (DZ 1411), see pp. 161-63.

26 Cf. also the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶赤書玉訣妙經 (DZ 352; hereafter, *Chishu yujue*), 1.18b-19a.

According to Lu Xiuqing, the ritual consists of confessions made six times a day<sup>27</sup> toward the ten directions. This is confirmed by the *Mengzhen ke*, which provides the texts of the confessions (30a-36b). The ritual as a whole is composed of the following rites: entry by way of the Gate of Earth, triple circumambulation, lighting of the incense burner, invitation of the gods and explanation of the aim of the ritual, triple offering of incense, confessions, triple circumambulation while reciting the space-walk stanzas, extinction of the burner. It is worth adding that the ritual master who performs this ritual must “undo his hair knot, leave his hair hanging down, and smear [his face] with dirt in accord with the instructions 依訣塗炭” (26a8). The model for the golden register fast is thus the mud fast.

2. The yellow register fast (*huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋): “To uproot the sins and evil karma of the nine generations of people’s ancestors” 為人拔度九祖惡對罪根; “To uproot the sins of the nine generations of one’s fellow sectarians 為同法.”<sup>28</sup> *Daomen*: “To save the generations of ancestors.” *Yebao*: “This is the best ritual for saving from the darkness the myriad souls of the ancestors of the people, those born before and those born after, who are in the three paths, swallowed up for myriads of kalpas, so that they may transcend the earth prisons, leave their suffering, and be reborn in Heaven.” *Yishu*: “To eliminate the sufferings in the nine obscurities and the earth prisons below.”<sup>29</sup> The version of this fast in the *Wushang biyao*, j. 54, is attributed to the *Dongxuan huanglu jianwen*.<sup>30</sup> The aim of the ritual is to “save the dead souls

27 The text of the commentary, corrupt to the point of being incomprehensible if we did not have the original text from which it is derived, says here “one day six days”; for the correct reading, see *Mengzhen ke*, 26a7. Kuo Li-ying, *Confession et contrition dans le bouddhisme chinois du V<sup>e</sup> au X<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient, 1994), p. 27, n. 26, suggests that the daily sextuple ritual practice in Buddhism 常日六時行道, already set forth by Dao An 道安 (d. 385; see p. 26) “est à mettre en rapport avec une règle dont parlent les *Avadāna*: le Buddha examine le monde trois fois la nuit et trois fois le jour avec l’œil du Buddha.”

28 Does the subtle shift from “for people” to “for sectarians” reflect a shift from a Heavenly Master communitarian approach in which priests do rituals for people to the cenobitic community of Lushan?

29 When we compare what the *Yishu* says of these first two fasts, we can see their complementarity, the one dealing with that which is “above,” including sociologically, the other with that which is “below.” Concerning the jade register, the *Yishu* says “it is to save the people, pray for good fortune, and confess sins.” In this system, then, the jade register fast is the sociological complement of the golden register fast, the yellow register fast its cosmological complement.

30 See my *Somme taoïste*, pp. 163-65, for a description of the ritual.

of the nine generations of ancestors of one's fellow sectarians<sup>31</sup> and enable them to emerge from the long night" (54.5b8-9). The space in which this ritual is performed is that prescribed by Lu Xiujing in the *Wugan wen* for the golden register fast, with a central arena of 2.4 *zhang* with ten gates surrounded by a second space of 3.2 *zhang* enclosed by gates in the four corners. According to the *Wushang biyao*, the entire arena is surrounded by the eight trigrams; these are not mentioned by Lu.<sup>32</sup> The five incense burners of the golden register fast, linked to the five real writs, become ten in the *Wushang biyao* yellow register fast. The *Wugan wen* says simply, "ten gates, three incense burners," a phrase that seems to suggest three burners at each gate.<sup>33</sup> Both texts require a quantity of silk that is determined by the social status of the person for whom the ritual is done: commoner, aristocrat, or sovereign.

According to Lu Xiujing, the ritual is composed of confessions made in the twenty directions. This is indeed the number of confessions in the *Wushang biyao*, where they are addressed to the gods of the ten directions, the sun, the moon, the stars, the five sacred peaks, the aquatic officer, and the Three Treasures.<sup>34</sup> After these confessions, according to the *Wugan wen*, "a dragon must be thrown into water, another buried on a mountain, and [eight] others, together with the silk, be distributed so as to earn merit." The *Wushang biyao* (54.20b4), which refers here to "the old text of jade instructions" 玉訣舊文,<sup>35</sup> says the first dragon is to inform 關 the aquatic emperor, the second the five emperors. We do well to recall here that this rite employing dragons as messengers is almost certainly of Zhengyi origin.<sup>36</sup> The same influence is visible in the ten directional formulae of confession, where the sins of the souls of the nine generations of ancestors must be effaced in "the palaces of Nüqing" so that they may ascend to Heaven. In each direction, it is by means of silk and gold offerings that the ancestors of

31 Stephen Bokenkamp suggests, rightly, I think, that the Lingbao priest is here seen performing a ritual on behalf of "lay" adepts' ancestors, whose names would be duly entered in the ritual documents.

32 In *Somme taoïste* I interpret this as a third concentric space.

33 This may be linked to the fact the ritual contains two sequences (54.4b-5a and 6a-8a) of triple offerings of incense in the ten directions.

34 As I already noted in *Somme taoïste*, p. 165, n. 1, "la suite de ces confessions est la même que dans le Jeûne des trois principes (52.3b-12b), sauf que le pic central, au lieu de venir en position centrale – troisième dans la série de cinq – est ici la dernière montagne sacrée à laquelle on s'adresse."

35 It is perhaps the *Chishu yujue* that is intended, as it proposes rites for the "throwing of the dragons."

36 See Wang Chengwen, *Gu lingbao jing*, pp. 534-46, esp. 542 ff.

so-and-so, co-sectarian 同法某甲, of such-and-such a family 某家, are redeemed. This redemption is carried out only in the ten directions.

3. The fast of the alliance with the Perfected (*mengzhen zhai* 明<sup>37</sup> 真齋): “Adepts save the souls of their myriad ancestors in the long night and deflect harm and exorcise catastrophe for the sovereign” 學士自拔億萬祖長夜之魂, 及為國王禳災卻害; “Adepts save the souls of their myriad ancestors from the nine obscurities.”<sup>38</sup> *Daomen*: “Confessions for the nine obscurities.” *Yebao*: “This is the best ritual for correcting astral anomalies, harmonizing Yin and Yang, avoiding catastrophes, saving flying souls – so that men and gods know felicity and the living and the dead grace – and moving the gods.” *Yishu*: “To save souls from the nine obscurities.” According to the *Wugan wen* commentary, this ritual requires lighting a single long lamp of the type used in the golden register fast, without gates. In the *Wushang biyao* (j. 51) this fast, like the golden register fast, derives from the *Mengzhen ke*.<sup>39</sup> It is done by “someone” (51.3a4) who has no priestly title, lasts but a day and a night, and is composed of confessions in the ten directions done six times in the course of the day. Revealed at the request of the most high Lord of the Dao, its aim is to save the souls of the dead. Although it lasts but a day, it is prescribed for a great number of days – including those of the eight articulations – throughout the course of the year. It is to be done in the courtyard of a house and is composed not so much of confessions as of prayers for the liberation of the souls which are addressed to the gods of the ten directions. While the text specifically mentions adepts of all kinds—the ritual merit is theirs – the fast is also performed for “the myriad ancestors of a given family” (51.3b1).

4. The fast of the three principles (*sanyuan zhai* 三元齋): “Adepts confess their own faults and accumulated sins” 學士懺謝己身所行, 積卻罪咎; “To be done three times a year by adepts, to confess sins resulting from infraction of religious rules in the course of their studies.” *Daomen*: “To confess the infraction of the codes and rules.” *Yebao*: “For practicing adepts, it is the best ritual to pray for immortality, to save the seven generations of ancestors, and to confess to the Three Officers so that one’s name be stricken from [the

37 *Ming* 明 is used interchangeably with *meng* 盟 in this text, and there is general agreement that reading it as *meng*, alliance, is preferable.

38 Does the sovereign disappear in the 453 text in order to more clearly distinguish this text from the golden register fast?

39 For the detail, see *Somme taoïste*, p. 158, n. 4.

register] of death and inscribed on that of life, as well as to lengthen the days and protect the life of oneself or of others.” *Yishu*: “To confess one’s sins to the Three Officers.”

The *Wugan wen* commentary states that this ritual is to be performed in the middle of the first, seventh, and tenth months. Adepts are to begin by washing themselves and then, three times a day, “practice the Tao 行道 in a hall for fasting by making confession in twenty-one directions.” The same instructions, in adumbrated form, are found in the *Wushang biyao* (j. 52) and the *Taishang dadao sanyuan pinjie xiezui shangfa* 太上大道三元品誠謝罪上法 (DZ 417; hereafter, *Xiezui shangfa*).<sup>40</sup> According to these two texts, the ritual is to be done by an ordained master and seeks the forgiveness of all karmic faults and sins in the present life so that one’s name be stricken from the register of sins and inscribed on that of long life. It consists of twenty (not twenty-one) confessions addressed to the same gods as in the yellow register fast. But, whereas the priest in that fast each time casts himself on the mercies of a single god or group of supreme gods, the priest in the three principles fast, for each of the ten directions, expresses his allegiance to a veritable pantheon. The first god is the same as that of the yellow register fast, but the other gods in the three principles fast come, for the most part, from the traditions of the Heavenly Masters. For example, the list of gods addressed in the east (3b6-10) is an augmented version of that given in the *Dengzhen yinjue* (3.8b6-9).

The role of the Zhengyi tradition in this fast is made explicit in a passage which, curiously, is missing in the *Wushang biyao*, namely lines 7a1-7b10 of the *Xiezui shangfa*. In this passage, which is to be found at the start of the rite addressed to the gods of the “upper direction” 上方 (respectively 7a-9a and 52.8a-9b), the priest takes refuge in “the great Dao of non-action of the Most High of the sworn alliance of the orthodox one” 正一盟威太上無為

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40 These two texts must be read together, for each contains major lacunae and omissions (for the details, see *Somme taoïste*, pp. 159-61, esp. p. 160, n. 4). For Ofuchi Ninji, “On Ku Ling-pao-ching,” *Acta Asiatica*, 27, 1974, 34-56, p. 52, the *Xiezui shangfa* represents an old sequence from one of the texts of the first Lingbao canon, the *Sanyuan pinjie*, which Ofuchi identifies with the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan pinjie gongde qingzhong jing* 太上洞玄靈寶三元品戒功德輕重經 (DZ 456; hereafter, [*Gongde*] *qingzhong jing*). In a forthcoming text entitled “The Lingbao fast of the three primes and the Daoist middle prime festival: A critical study of the *Taishang dongxuan Lingbao sanyuan pinjie jing*,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 20, Lü Pengzhi demonstrates the *Xiezui shangfa* to be the second part of the *Sanyuan pinjie*. My quotations will be for the most part from the *Xiezui shangfa*.

大道, and even of the newly appeared Old Lord 新出老君 (7a7, 7b2). Even more interesting is the absence, in the *Wushang biyao* (52.12b9), of the rite for the proclamation of merit 言功 (12a7-13b1). The rite in the *Xiezui shangfa* itself seems to be a truncated version of the mud fast text in the *Wushang biyao*: 50.19b7-20a8 corresponds to *Xiezui shangfa* 12b7-12b5 and 50.20b6-21a6 (= the end of the text) corresponds to 12b10-13b1.<sup>41</sup> Nonetheless, if the *Xiezui shangfa* does not suppress all reference to Zhengyi rites, in these parallel passages there are also traces of suppression. The lines 50.20a5-7 and 20a8-20b6<sup>42</sup> of the mud fast – missing in the *Shangfa* – recall that the present rite is done by a priest at the request of his “co-sectarians, the (named) male and female officers” 同法男女官某甲 and say it is done “in accord with the teaching of the Heavenly Masters” 承天師旨教, whose ritual agents are invited at the start of the ritual (50.10b).

An element found only in the encyclopedia is also deserving of mention, to wit the drawing and description of the sacred area given at the beginning of the ritual, an arena surrounded by the eight trigrams, with four incense burners on the second and one burner on the top level.<sup>43</sup>

5. The fast of the eight articulations (*bajie zhai* 八節齋): “Method for adepts to be released from their sins while self-cultivating in search of immortality” 學士解過修身求仙之法; “To be done eight times a year by adepts, for the confession of their own sins and those of their seven generations of ancestors, in this life and all previous lives.” *Daomen*: “To confess and wash away all faults, new and ancient.” This fast is not mentioned by the *Yebao*; the *Yishu*

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41 This is the most important though by no means the only textual link: both texts mention the 180 precepts (50.12a6-9 = 2b8-3a2), as well as the transfer of the adept’s name from the black register of sins to the green register of life (50.15a3-4 corresponds to 3a9-10). The text of the 180 precepts, partly truncated, is provided in the *Gongde qingzhong jing*, 22a-31a), which is also the source of the description of the black and green registers.

42 Between these two passages, there is a line which is common to both texts: 50.20a-7-8 = 12b4-5.

43 For a complete account of this arena, with its mythical and cosmological background as well as its liturgical implications, with regard to the entry into the arena in particular, see my *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), pp. 30-35. The link which I sought there to demonstrate between the trigrams and the aquatic/inferral underworld is reinforced here—and in the yellow register fast, 54.18b-19a—by the fact that, of the officers of Heaven, Earth, and the Waters—the famous Three Officers, only the Aquatic officer is confessed to (DZ 417, 11a-b).



includes it in a category of calendrical fasts that use the natural fast, and provides no separate description of it.

Lu's commentary adds: "The Tao is to be practiced in the hall of the fast six times on each of the eight articulation days, making prostrations and confessions in the ten directions." As we saw, this is also the definition of the fast of the alliance with the Perfected. If this fast is nonetheless thought deserving of a separate mention, it is no doubt because Lu felt that, among calendar-determined fasts, those of the eight articulation days were particularly important. They were "feasts of obligation."

### The fast of the Three Sovereigns

7. The fast of the three sovereigns of communication with the spirits<sup>44</sup>: "This ritual puts the accent on simplicity and is done alone, without companions, by those who are cut off from the world in order to encounter the immortals. [The adept] bathes himself in divine water, burns incense of the sovereigns, lights candles of divine wax, and ingests wads of incense of the upper prime." *Daomen*: "It places the accent on simplicity and [is practiced] by those who are cut off from the world in order to encounter the immortals." *Yebao*: "This is the best ritual for summoning the spirits of heaven and earth and putting them to work so as to turn death into life, change the inauspicious into the auspicious, obtain the secret response of the spirits, move the divine Tao, and liberate all beings." *Yishu*: "To search for immortality and to protect the land."

The commentary begins by evoking the wads of incense that must be strung on a green string before being set out to dry in the sun, then mentions the oil lamps and incense burners, thirty-six of each. "Those in charge of lamps and incense burners must watch over them day and night."<sup>45</sup> For forty or one hundred days the adept must concentrate his spirit and recite the secret formulae, light lamps and candles and distribute incense, and utter his desires to the pure Perfected using the thirty-two phrases of marvelous words. If he wishes to summon the gods, he should use only the sovereigns' writs to do so. He summons in order to ask questions about immortality and life: that is what his heart desires." The instructions given in the *Wushang biyao* (j. 49) are more complete,<sup>46</sup> but they do not clarify the reference to thirty-two phrases. The reference to thirty-six, by contrast, refers clearly to the number

44 As fasts 7-9 are not included in the Lingbao catalogue of 437, the first comment for them will be that from the *Wugan wen*.

45 Thus the "solitary" character of this ritual is quite relative!

46 *Somme taoïste*, pp. 152-55 and *Taoist ritual*, pp. 26-30.

of heavens (3b8, 17a7-10). Moreover, if Lu Xiuqing's ritual seems to be one done by a single searcher for immortality, in the encyclopedia it is a family that asks a priest to do the ritual. The text even states that he who requests the ritual "comes to the mountain from far away so as to express his sincerity and ask that a fast of the three sovereigns be done for him so that he can confess his sins and pray for good fortune" (4a10-4b2). At 2b1-2, there is mention of the ritual being done in the mountains: "If the ritual is done in the mountains, where everything is lacking, it is allowed to eliminate the banquet 醮 and just light lamps."<sup>47</sup>

If the text of this fast integrates both Buddhist (and Lingbao) notions of karma and reincarnation and the gods of Maoshan (the saintly Lord of Shangqing, 3a8-9),<sup>48</sup> it is the singular character of this ritual and its possible links with the Zhengyi tradition which are the most remarkable. There is, first, the fact that, like the mud fast we will examine below, the fast of the three sovereigns is composed of a nocturnal prayer, the ritual as such, and the proclamation of merit. Next, throughout the text, the ritual is understood as either a prayer of request or confession 請謝 (2b9, 8b9, etc.), which also recalls the Zhengyi liturgy. The pantheon is also largely of Zhengyi origin (compare 3b7-9 and *Dengzhen yinjue* 3.8b6-9).<sup>49</sup> The text contains typically Zhengyi notions like the energies of the three heavens 三天氣 (3a10, 13a4), passage 過度 (15a10), the elect 種民 (15b2, 17a5), and powerful officers 靈官 (17a7-10). But the most interesting item of all is the libation rite addressed to the gods of the nine heavens in the four directions, where the master first faces the east, then moves counter-clockwise to face successively the north, west, and south: this is the sequence prescribed in the "rite of

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47 This is one of the earliest references to Daoist *jiao* being done for lay persons by priests. As such, it confirms quite dramatically that this later quintessential Daoist ritual is of *fangshi* origin. Cf. Lü Pengzhi, Lü, Pengzhi, "Zaoqi daoqiao jiaoyi jiqi liubian kaosuo" 早期道教醮儀及其流變考索, in Tam Wai Lun 譚偉倫 (ed.), *Zhongguo defang zongjiao yishi lunji* 中國地方宗教儀式論集 (Hong Kong: Centre for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society, Chung Chi College, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2011), 19-145, pp. 89-92.

48 The perfected royal lord of the Western City 西城真人王君, Wang, master of Mao Ying (Isabelle Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoïsme* [Paris: Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 1984], p. 128) is also mentioned (6a4). But, in the *Badi jing* (*Dongshen badi miaojing jing* 洞神八帝妙精經 [DZ 640]), 12a, Lord Wang is the divine person who edits the writs of the three sovereigns and then transmits them to Bogong 帛公 in the year 99.

49 The *Badi jing*, 28a, even contains a talisman for convoking a Zhengyi officer of merit 正一功曹, and requires the use of an oratory (17a, 靖室; 17b 淨屋; 22a, 陰室; 25a, 室中).

Hanzhong for entry into the parish and going in audience in the oratory” 漢中入治朝靜法 in the *Dengzhen yinjue* (3.10b-11b).

As regards the singular character of this fast, it is worth underlining that it is the only ritual in the *Wushang biyao* that contains a Jiao. The plates to be filled with dates and dried meat together with cups of alcohol for the libations, recalls the Jiao of the *fangshi* in the *Taishang lingbao wufu xu*.<sup>50</sup> But the way in which it distinguishes itself most patently from the other fasts is in its constant allusions to exorcism. This is already clear in the basic orientation of the ritual: the lighting of the burner (2b), the incantation for the capture of evil spirits 攝精祝 (7b), and the primary invocation (13b) are all done facing north. Each sovereign has his place on the sacred arena – the Heavenly at *zi* 子 (N), the Human at *yin* 寅 (NE), and the Earthly at *shen* 申 (SW) – but, according to the formula for lighting the burner, they go in audience together in the Purple Palace 紫宮 (2b10, 8a8). The explanation of the ritual’s aim during the nocturnal invocation affirms that the writs of the three sovereigns received by the officiant “enable, on high, to inscribe the names of the gods and exercise sovereignty over the powers and, below, to save from catastrophes and bring good fortune to earth” (4a5-6). At the end of this prayer, the priest asks the Three Perfected of Sovereign Unity 皇一三真 to order the local god of the earth and various ritual agents to “protect the site of the fast by decapitating perverse spirits 精邪” (4b10).<sup>51</sup>

But it is the incantation referred to above for capturing evil spirits that best represents the singular, exorcistic character of this fast. It describes a voyage, first to the west, to the Golden Gate 金門, then to the east, to Fusang 扶桑, the north, the south, in front and behind, and ends by evoking the twenty-five energies which must “sweep away all that is inauspicious” 拂除凶殃 (8a3). Situated in the same ritual slot as the Lingbao incantation to ensure the protection of the sacred arena in the mud fast 衛靈神祝, this incantation, by virtue of its much denser character, but above all by its allusions to a cosmic, stellar voyage – it was most probably accompanied by the Step of Yu – appears to be clearly more archaic than the Lingbao version. It begins as follows: “Chaotic, sovereign, sealed above by the heavenly seal. I have received the divine writs, which I open to announce them to the three sovereigns” (7b9). There can be little doubt but that it is the talismanic writs

50 *Juan* 3; see Lü Pengzhi, *Tangqian*, pp. 80-84.

51 The parallel passage in the mud fast (*Wushang biyao*, 50.21) is structured the same way: see below.

of the sovereigns which underlie the exorcistic function of this fast from which the Jiao could not be suppressed.<sup>52</sup>

In conclusion, we may note the unusual character of the nocturnal invocation, which includes the proclamation of thirteen precepts and the installation of priests by the “reading of tablets” 讀簡 (7b1). The strange number of thirteen precepts is explained in the text by reference to *Laozi* 50 (7a). Each precept is linked to a threat if it is not respected: “The Three Officers will punish you”; “humans and demons will hurt you”; “the hundred diseases will attack you.”<sup>53</sup> If the overall structure of the Three Sovereigns fast is the same as that of the mud fast – hymn, discursive introduction to the precepts, proclamation of the precepts, conclusive explanation – the text of the mud fast is clearly marked as of Lingbao origin, while that of the Three Sovereigns is attributed to a discourse of Wang Yuan 王遠.<sup>54</sup> In both texts, all rites but the hymn are done facing west.

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52 The *Taishang dongshen xingdao shoudu yi*, a text which is probably Tang but is quite close to the rituals in the *Wushang biyao* (j. 38 and 49), summarizes the function of the method of the three sovereigns thus: “It is to communicate with the powers, command demons, and make all spirits do corvée labor and thereby bring peace to the land and the family and save the people” (15b3-4). The *Badi jing* gives a large number of talismans (many of which are found in j. 25 of the *Wushang biyao*: see *Somme*, pp. 106-07) whose function is to summon the god and question him about the future or ask of him a precise service; see Poul Andersen, “Talking to the Gods: Visionary Divination in Early Daoism (The Sanhuang Tradition),” in *Daoist Resources* 5.1 (1994), 1-24. There is, for example, a talisman for convoking one’s own ancestors: “If you bury this talisman under the threshold, the dead will no longer be able to come back to the house” (28b).

53 *Badi jing*, 13a-b, also supplies a list of thirteen precepts, likewise linked to threats. But if the two lists have undeniable links, that of the *Wushang biyao* is already tinged with moralism, while that of the *Badi jing* focuses on forbidding behavior that could harm the individual adept: “It is forbidden to drink too much, as that will cause a crisis of the bladder”; “It is forbidden to get too cold, for your flesh could be damaged.”

54 That is, Lord Wang of the Western City. For a translation and study of his hagiography in the *Shenxian zhuan* of Ge Hong, see Robert Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth: A Translation and Study of Ge Hong’s Traditions of Divine Transcendents* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 76 and 264. Wang Yuan is associated with the transmission of the texts of the Three Sovereigns. See now Dominic Steavu, “The many lives of Lord Wang of the Western Citadel: a note on the transmission of the *Sanhuang wen*,” *Journal of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies* vol. 13 (2009), 109-62.

## Zhengyi rituals

9. The teaching fast (*zhijiao zhai* 指教齋): “Values purity and simplicity.” *Daomen*: same. *Yebao*: not included. *Yishu*: “To exorcise catastrophes and save from illness.”

We already saw that this is the only ritual which Lu Xiuqing attributes to the Heavenly Master tradition. Henri Maspero, in his article on the mud fast, already mentioned one of the key passages which affirms that attribution, namely, the *Dongxuan qingwen shangjing* as it is cited in the *Wushang biyao* (47.2a)<sup>55</sup>:

Laozi on high says: “There is nothing more important, for Daoists, than the fast. There are many kinds of fast, but all are pretty much the same. Nonetheless, the fast whose merit is the greatest is the Lingbao fast of the Most High, but not many are capable of learning it, only those good people who learn the Greater Vehicle, who in their previous lives accumulated felicity, and who are now close to immortality. Then there is the fast of the three heavens, which is similar.”

The Immortal Duke said: “The fast of the three heavens is the method received by the ritual master of the three heavens.”<sup>56</sup> It is called the ‘text of the teaching’.<sup>57</sup>

The Immortal duke is Ge Xuan 葛玄, the great uncle of Ge Hong to whom eleven Lingbao so-called “new scriptures” are said to have been revealed.<sup>58</sup> According to one of these texts, the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao benxing yinyuan jing* 太上洞玄靈寶本行因緣經 (DZ 1124; hereafter, *Benxing yinyuan jing*), 7a, the master of the three heavens is none other than Zhang Daoling, “Perfected of orthodox unity” 正一真人. During an audience on Kunlun, the immortals saw all the gods of Fengdu and of the three realms coming to bow down to the master, and they then ask the Immortal Duke “what merit [Zhang] had in his previous lives that he had become so unique

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55 Maspero, “Essai sur le taoïsme,” pp. 159-60, n. 2. Maspero translates “fast for making known the doctrine.”

56 Cf. the Dunhuang manuscript S 1351, where the ritual master of the three heavens is identified as the Heavenly Master: see Wang Ka’s critical edition, in Zhang Jiyu, ed., *Zhonghua daoang* (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), vol. 4, pp. 119-26.

57 The Dunhuang manuscript here inserts a phrase not found in the *Wushang biyao*: “The complete method is to be found in the *Wucheng wen* (on this text, see below, note 59).”

58 On these texts, see Ofuchi, “On Ku Ling-pao-ching,” pp. 40-41, and p. 54 of the same article for the *Dongxuan qingwen shangjing*. Cf. note 58 below.

among those who have obtained the Tao.” The Immortal Duke responds that the Heavenly Master had practiced the fast and the recitation of scriptures without ceasing through whole kalpas: “From one life to the next, his search for the Tao was even greater than mine. To describe his determination is impossible. It is because he practiced the Tao on the basis of important texts that he was given the charge of ritual master of the three heavens and the appellation of Perfected of the orthodox unity of the Most High.”<sup>59</sup> A third text from the group, the *Benxing suyuan jing* (5b),<sup>60</sup> goes even farther:

When the Perfected of orthodox unity studied the Tao, he received the Lingbao fast. After he had accomplished the Tao, he affirmed the venerable character of this fast and copied the *Lingbao writ of the five denominations*.<sup>61</sup> He there revealed the method of the fast, which is virtually the same as the writ of the teaching. The latter is second only to the method in this text.

The two texts in the Daoist canon for the *Zhengyi fast of the teaching* (*Zhengyi zhijiao zhai yi* and *Zhengyi zhijiao zhai qingdan xingdao yi*), the first being for the nocturnal invocation 宿啟, the second for the ritual of audience on the next day, are clearly Tang texts.<sup>62</sup> Nonetheless, although Lü Pengzhi is clearly right to say that all extant texts of the Teaching are imitative of the Lingbao fast,<sup>63</sup> this does not explain why the “new scriptures” are so eager to attribute the origin of the Lingbao fast itself to Zhang Daoling.<sup>64</sup>

8. Fast of the Great One (*taiyi zhai* 太一齋): “Gives priority to an attitude of reverence and solemnity.” *Daomen*: same. Neither the *Yebao* nor the *Yishu* include this ritual.

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59 On the narrative which precedes this passage, see my *Somme*, p. 24, n. 2. For the identification of the *Yinyuan jing*, see Ofuchi, “On Ku Ling-pao-ching,” p. 55.

60 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao benxing suyuan jing* 太上洞玄靈寶本行宿緣經 (DZ 1114). On this text, see Ofuchi, “On Ku Ling-pao-ching,” p. 54: it is the second volume of the *Xiangong qingwen jing* 仙公請問經, of which S 1351 is the first (cf. note 54).

61 That is, the *Taishang wuji dadao ziran zhenyi wucheng fu shangjing*, from the Lingbao canon; cf. Ofuchi, “On Ku Ling-pao-ching,” p. 47.

62 The audience ritual, p. 2a, uses the Tang administrative system (*zhou xian*).

63 See Lü Pengzhi, “A study of the Zhijiao fast of Celestial Master Daoism,” *Foundations of Daoist ritual—a Berlin symposium*, ed. Florian Reiter (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2009), 165-188.

64 For my hypothesis on this matter, see below, note 102.

In order to demonstrate the Zhengyi origin of this fast, we may begin by picking up the *Benxing suyuan jing* where we left it (5b10): “By comparison with the Lingbao fast, the most sublime of all, the Great One fast instructs those who are at the start of their studies in the Lesser Vehicle. The good people who belong to the Greater Vehicle and its divine books of the three caverns save others first, themselves second.” Another of the texts linked to Ge Xuan is even more explicit<sup>65</sup>: “If there are libationers of the yellow and the red of the Great One who like to watch the fast, they may be admitted as observers of the great liturgical transformation, but they may not sit on the same benches.” Further confirmation of the place of the Great One in early Zhengyi traditions may be found in the *Zhengyi fawen falu bu yi*, who gives the title of the chief priest as “itinerant master of the five peaks, liturgist of the three caverns, Daoist of the Great One 太一道士 of a given energy belonging to the successors of the Heavenly Master” (1a).<sup>66</sup>

Wang Chengwen cites two texts which are important for establishing the role of the Great One among the Heavenly Masters.<sup>67</sup> The first, the *Zhijiao jing* as cited by Zhu Faman 朱法滿 (-720) in the *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 要修科儀戒鈔 (DZ 463), 8.4b, reveals a Great One who is a supreme judge: on the ten days of monthly fasting, after having received the reports of the inspector gods on the behavior of humans, he rejoices or grows angry as a function of the report, then has engraved on the register of jade the names of the good and turns the names of the bad over to the Three Officers. The second, the *Taizhen ke* as cited in the *Taiping yulan* (j. 679), recalls the contract of Zhang Daoling with the Three Officers, followed by the transmission of secret instructions to his successor after having “sacrificed and prayed to the Great One” 醮奏太一. While both of these texts are posterior to the Lingbao revelations, the fact worship of the Great One played a central role in Han imperial and *fangshi* religion makes it highly plausible this tradition also played a role in the early Heavenly Masters.<sup>68</sup>

65 I refer here to the *Zhijie weiyi*, likewise one of the eleven “new texts.”

66 The fact that a good portion of this text uses the pre-Tang administrative system means it must belong to a relatively early stratum of Zhengyi literature. At the same time, the reference to the three caverns and, above all, the appendix attributed to Ge Xuan show that it is a text posterior to the Lingbao canon. Finally, the fact the Tang administrative system is used at 11b8 suggests it has undergone final editing in the Tang. See the study of Lü Pengzhi, “Tianshidao dengtan gaomeng yi: *Zhengyi fawen falu buyi kaolun*” 天師道登壇告盟儀——《正一法文法錄部儀》考論, *Zongjiao xue yanjiu* 宗教學研究 2011.2, 8-24.

67 *Dunhuang gu lingbao jing*, pp. 781-82 and 800.

68 This is also Lü Pengzhi’s conclusion in “Daoist rituals,” pp. 1322-25.

6. Natural fast (*ziran zhai* 自然齋): “To save all, the living and the dead, from all manner of difficulty” 拔濟一切存亡厄難; “This is the method of universal salvation, used both, in individual practice and to save others, to eliminate catastrophes or pray for good fortune, as one wishes.” *Daomen*: “To pray for good fortune for the people.” *Yebao*: “This is the best ritual for obtaining the pardon of one’s sins, to attract good fortune, lengthen one’s years, send memorials to the heavens, transmit the scriptural methods and save men, women, and all living creatures from their infinite karma.” *Yishu*: “For the cultivation of perfection and the study of the Tao.” The *Xuanmen dalun* deserves also to be cited here: “To save all the living and the dead. It should be practiced regularly in accord with the calendar of Nature.”

The question of the origin of this fast is complex. The Daoist canon contains a ritual whose name is *Dongxuan lingbao ziran zhai yi*. It is a typical Lingbao ritual, useable for both the dead and the living and having a structure which is identical to that of Six Dynasties rituals. But it contains confessions addressed to the Four Saints (3b) and must, therefore, date to the Song. Another version of the Natural fast was found at Dunhuang.<sup>69</sup> If the text is probably Tang, it is composed primarily of citations of Lingbao texts. The introduction, for example, is attributed to the *Jinlu jianwen* 金籙簡文, and begins with a narrative concerning the celestial origin of the text which is standard Lingbao fare. After a first line which affirms that “the Natural fast

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69 See Ofuchi Ninji, *Tonkô dôkei: tôroku hen 敦煌道經：圖錄篇* (Tokyo, 1979), pp. 140-46. Ofuchi regroups three manuscripts (P 3282, S 6481, and P 2455) and formulates the hypothesis that they all belong to the same text whose title is found in the first line of P 3282: “Natural fast.” The hypothesis is clearly accurate for the first two manuscripts, which follow each other virtually without interruption: the first ends with the proclamation of the precepts and the second begins with the installation of the officers, two successive rites in the nocturnal invocation (cf. *Wushang biyao* 48.4b-7a). Moreover, the end of the first manuscript corresponds to *Dongxuan lingbao zhai shuo guangzhu jiefa deng zhuyuan yi* 洞玄靈寶齋說光燭戒罰燈祝願儀 by Lu Xiuqing (DZ 524; hereafter, *Zhuyuan yi*), 7b-8a, a text whose first paragraph is attributed to Lu Xiuqing, and the second manuscript begins with a text identical to *Zhuyuan yi* 11a-12a. Nonetheless, where P 3282, l. 35, clearly identifies itself as the ritual of announcement, the *Zhuyuan yi*, which on page 2b gives itself the title “supreme Lingbao Natural fast,” contains a note (7b) which enjoins its reader to “do everything according to the rite as established by Master Lu, who performed first the nocturnal invocation and then transmitted the ten superior precepts.” Thus, if we admit Ofuchi’s hypothesis and accept that the *Zhuyuan yi* represents Lu Xiuqing’s tradition, these Dunhuang manuscripts would represent a Natural fast which combines texts according to Lu’s teachings but organizes the nocturnal invocation along the same lines as the *Wushang biyao*.



may be done for the country and for the people,” the introduction insists on the universal utility of the fast: “This text is appropriate for all circumstances” (P 3282, l. 22). At the end of the introduction, it is said that the master, after having been solicited by the host, must go to his house on the eve of the ritual in order to announce it. The ritual begins with a section that is also attributed to the *Jinlu jianwen*: “For the nocturnal invocation, the ritual master must first, in accord with custom, do the ritual of the Natural audience given hereafter” (P 3282, l. 35). The text that follows is composed of the following rites: entry, circumambulation (once), lighting of the incense burner, triple pinch of incense, announcement of the title of the chief priest,<sup>70</sup> dedication of the merit of the incense,<sup>71</sup> confession in the ten directions, hymns,<sup>72</sup> invocation of the pantheon, and explanation of the ritual’s goal, songs,<sup>73</sup> prostrations, proclamation of the precepts.<sup>74</sup>

Should we conclude that the Natural fast is the same as the nocturnal invocation? The brief phrase just translated concerning “the method of the natural audience” suggests another possibility. The mud fast in the *Wushang biyao* (j. 50) begins as follows: “For the nocturnal invocation, begin with the usual audience rite.” What audience rite is intended? According to the great

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70 L. 46: “Servant so-and-so, master of a given mountain, disciple of the three supreme Lingbao caverns of the Most High.” This title is identical to that used in the nocturnal invocation in the *Wushang biyao*, 48.10a.

71 L. 55: the merit is for the seven generations of the host’s ancestors, those who govern, Daoist masters, and all beings, that their sins be remitted and their sufferings ended and so that all ascend to the palace of Nature “to be forever united with the Tao.”

72 These hymns, which a note in the manuscript (l. 64) attributes to the *Zhihui dapin jiejing*, correspond to the Lingbao canonical text *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui benyuan daje shangpin jing*, 7b-8a.

73 These songs, attributed in a note (l. 94) to the *Zhihui guanshen daje jing*, correspond to *Shangqing dongzhen zhihui guanshen daje wen* 上清洞真智慧觀身大戒文 (DZ 1364 [hereafter, *Guanshen daje*], 1a-b).

74 Manuscript P 3282 ends two lines after this proclamation. Inasmuch as these lines are also found at the comparable point in the nocturnal invocation in the *Wushang biyao*, where they are attributed to the *Jinlu jing*, the missing lines can be reconstituted on the basis of the encyclopedia (48.4b-7a). Moreover, the whole passage in the *Wushang biyao* is in the *Zhihui daje* (full title, *Taishang dongzhen zhihui shangpin daje* 太上洞真智慧上品大誡), 1a-2b, 4b, 6a, a part of the Lingbao canon. It is worth noting that its title in Lu Xiujing’s canonical list contains the word “natural”: *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhihui shangpin daje weiyi ziran*; Ofuchi, “On Ku Ling-pao-ching,” p. 37. The presence in this title of the term *weiyi*, “imposing rituals,” confirms that we have here to do not with any notion of “natural” but with a ritual—fact which explains the use of this text for the construction of the ritual of nocturnal invocation.

liturgist of the Southern Song, Jiang Shuyu 蔣叔輿 (1162-1223), this is the answer:

The Natural audience is the ancestor of the method of the fast. Before starting the fast, the Natural audience should be done first. (Note in the text: the Natural audience consists in the lighting of the burner, the announcement of the title of the officiant, bowing in the ten directions, making confession for the sins of the body, the heart, and the mouth, and the three hymns and triple bowing).<sup>75</sup>

This sequence of rites is found in the same chapter 16, pages 3a-8a. Not only is this the same sequence as that of the Dunhuang manuscript (P 3282, ll. 35 ff.), several texts are virtually identical, as that for the bowings (16.5a-b = ll. 47-56) and the three hymns borrowed from the *Zhihui dapin jiejing* (16.7a-b = ll. 65-73). The manuscript goes from there directly to the proclamation of precepts, while Jiang Shuyu inserts the placement of the five real writs before this proclamation. That the Natural audience really does end there, with the homage to the Three Treasures (the Tao, the writs, and masters), Jiang insists again on page 19a: “The tradition has been transmitted without change from the Jin through the Tang, to do first the Natural audience and then the proclamation of the precepts and the installation of the masters, until Zhang Ruohai 張若海 began to transmit erroneous explications that contradicted the texts.”<sup>76</sup> Jiang notes as well that the liturgical manual of the heavenly master Lu “contained no nocturnal invocation. He simply proclaimed the precepts at dawn on the day of the fast.” He then cites a Zhengyi text which affirms that, “before the fast begins, the Natural audience must be done” (16.12a-b).

But what is this Natural audience, as opposed to the Natural fast? There is no certain answer to that question, but I would suggest that we are talking about the rite referred to above, from the *Dengzhen yinjue*, as “the rite of Hanzhong for entry into the parish and going in audience in the oratory.”

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75 *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, 16.12a. This chapter occupies a special place in Jiang’s manual: entitled “Old ritual method of the nocturnal invocation for starting a fast,” that chapter is said to have been “written by Lu Xiujing, corrected by Zhang Wanfu, collated by Li Jingqi, transmitted by Liu Yongguang, and edited by Jiang Shuyu.” The first chapter in Jiang’s manual which provides the text of a ritual, it is also the only chapter called “old method” and whose initial form is attributed to Lu Xiujing. Throughout the chapter, Jiang Shuyu cites “the heavenly master Lu” as the most ancient authority of his own method.

76 Zhang Ruohai, who is regularly criticized by Jiang, is the author of the *Xuantan kanwu lun*.

This text, which is the oldest audience ritual we have, is composed simply of invocations of the gods of the four directions done inside the oratory during a single counter-clockwise circumambulation. As this brief audience rite is said to come from Hanzhong, it presumably belongs to the very beginning of the Heavenly Master tradition. It is then replaced by the new version revealed by Zhang Daoling, “ritual master of the three heavens and Perfected of orthodox unity,” to the libationer Wei Huacun (251-334).<sup>77</sup> Other than the fact the circumambulation is now done clockwise (like that of the Buddhists) and that it begins in the west rather than the east (in both versions, the adept thus ends his circuit facing south), that the four prayers also change, the most important difference is the addition, as soon as the adept enters the oratory, of the burner-lighting rite. Indeed, in the *Zhengyi zhijiao zhai yi* mentioned above, the nocturnal invocation begins with the burner-lighting rite, followed by the circumambulation accompanied by the four prayers of the Wei Huacun version, and then, after the invocation and explanation of the aim of the ritual, refers to “the old Hanzhong classic,” moves on to the announcement of the twelve “methods” – instead of the ten commandments of the Lingbao fasts and the thirteen precepts of the fast of the Three Sovereigns – followed by the installation of the officiants, the closure of the burner, and an exit hymn. The *Zhengyi zhijiao zhai qingdan xingdao yi* which follows includes the same four prayers (after the burner-lighting, the exteriorization of the officers, and the explanation of the ritual’s aim), under the rubric “audience in the four directions” (2b). I suspect that this was the original Natural audience: the lighting of the burner followed by the circumambulation with its four prayers.<sup>78</sup> The word translated “natural,” which means literally that which “lights up of its own accord,” refers to the lighting of the incense burner inside the adept, by means of which the ritual agents of the master’s body are exteriorized, for this is the necessary preamble to the dispatch of messages to the gods during the rite of audience.

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77 *Dengzhen yinjue*, 3.5b. According to Ursula Cedzich, “Das Ritual der Himmelleister im Spiegel früher Quellen: Übersetzung und Untersuchung des liturgischen Materials im dritten *chüan* des *Teng-chen yin-chüeh*,” Würzburg, Inaugural Dissertation, 1987, p. 33, this revelation occurred after Wei’s death in 334, and was only written down at the time of Yang Xi’s revelations in 364-70 (p. 77).

78 Lü Pengzhi, “Daoist ritual,” p. 1293, comes to the same conclusion: “As to the basic form of the ritual, we think that the *Jinlu jianwen* audience homage derives from the Heavenly Master audience ritual described above. But because it underwent Buddhist influence, the audience salutations in the four directions of the Heavenly Master ritual became an “homage in the ten directions.”

### The mud fast 塗炭齋

Lu Xiuqing affirms that “it is by austerities that this ritual achieves merit and enables incalculable generations of co-sectarians and their ancestors, as well as the members of their clans and the adepts themselves to dissolve myriad sins, extract from suffering, and save from all danger. The merit of this ritual is greatest, truly incalculable.” *Daomen*: “It is by austerities that this ritual achieves merit.” The *Yebao* grants this ritual even more universal significance: “This is the best ritual to deliver from danger. Whether it be prison or illness, souls in the dark underworld who are subjected to interrogations or incurable illness that is hard to bear and for which all remedies have been without results, it is meet to inform [the priest] and to confess all the faults of the living and the dead.” We do well to insist on the concrete circumstances indicated by the *Yebao* – interrogation, incurable illness – for these are, I suggest, an echo of the Zhengyi origins of this ritual. This function is, moreover, confirmed by the *Taizhen ke*: “A fast is called ‘charitable’ 義齋 when it is celebrated in order to save the life of someone who is very ill.”<sup>79</sup>

Thus the Zhengyi origin of the mud fast is incontrovertible. But it is worth recalling here as well that, if the extant version of this ritual is primarily composed of Lingbao texts<sup>80</sup> and says explicitly that it is based on “the pure Lingbao fast of the great confession of the lower prime” 依靈寶下元大謝清

79 See Yamada, “Totan sai kō,” p. 50, who cites this passage from the *Taizhen ke* from *Sandong zhunang* 三洞珠囊, 1.23a9-23b8). The citation as such does not mention the mud fast but is clearly describing it because it refers to smearing mud on the forehead, undone hair, and an outdoors sacred arena surrounded by ropes. In addition, the text evokes the “dispatch of a petition at midnight or at noon” 奏子午章, and the editor of the *Zhunang*, Wang Xuanhe 王懸河, explains in a note that this dispatch must be done “in accord with the method of the fasts of mud and the teaching” 依旨教塗炭齋法也 (1.23b6; cf. the Zhengyi ritual of transmission of the fifth century, which contains four documents “dispatched the day before, at midnight or at noon” [S 203, ll. 95, 112, 128, and 142 in the version published by Ofuchi, *Tonkō dōkei: zuroku hen*, pp. 880-84]). The passage from the *Taizhen ke* goes on to say that the ritual may also serve to “deliver 救解 the adept’s parents, his masters, or his co-sectarians from a major catastrophe or serious illness.” By stating that “register pupils who are utterly sincere and who love music may also be present at the fast” 精誠好樂籙生亦可從齋, the passage confirms yet again the Zhengyi nature of the ritual, but in mentioning the “ritual salutations toward the thirty-two heavens” 禮三十二天, it also reveals this description to be posterior to the Lingbao revelations.

80 For details, see my *Somme taoïste*, pp. 156-58.

齋 (1b6, 12a2, 18a8, 20a9), it also states explicitly that it “relies on the Heavenly Master teaching” 承天師旨教 (1b3, 12a1-2, 20a8).<sup>81</sup> Let us now examine concretely how these two traditions are conjoined.

The text begins thus: “During the nocturnal invocation, first do the audience according to the usual method. Then announce your diocesan title.” The fast will thus have the tripartite structure of Zhengyi rites, beginning with the Natural audience before the priest announces his diocesan – Zhengyi – title. This is followed by the invocation of a pantheon which is very close to that of the “new text” *Taiji zhenren fu lingbao zhajie wei yi zhu yaojue* 太極真人敷靈寶齋戒威儀諸經要訣 (DZ 532; hereafter, *Zhajie wei yi*), 3b2-3. If we compare the two texts with a comparable passage in the *Mengzhen ke*, their composite, predominantly Zhengyi character is clear: whereas the *Mengzhen ke* (27a) places the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Commence-ment 元始天尊 before the great Tao without limit 無極大道, the two texts begin with the most high great Tao without limit, followed by the most high great lord of the Tao – interlocutor of the Heavenly Worthy in the *Mengzhen ke* – the most high Lord Lao 太上老君, and the Ancient of the Most High 太上丈人,<sup>82</sup> and then at last the heavenly worthies of the ten directions (Lingbao in the mud fast, Daode in the *Zhajie wei yi*). These sequences may also be compared with that of the audience revealed to Wei Huacun, in particular that addressed to the divinities of the east: after the great Tao of the three heavens without limit comes the most high Lord Lao and the Ancient of the Most High (*Dengzhen yinjue* 3.8b).

It is after this invocation, in the context of the explanation of the reason for doing the ritual that the first mention of the double belonging of the ritual,

81 It is not clear whether the word “teaching” here refers specifically to a ritual of that name. It is therefore worth noting that the *Daoxue keyi* cited in note 4 above, 1.18a, gives the same laconic commentary for the fasts of both mud and the teaching: “to save from illness” 救病.

82 Or should we understand “father-in-law of the Most High”? According to Don Harper, “Contracts with the Spirit World in Han Common Religion: The Xuning Prayer and Sacrifice Documents of A.D. 79,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 14 (2004), 227-267, p. 239, *zhangren* refers to an elder, someone who is venerable and carries a staff 杖, but also the father of one’s wife (it can also mean “wife’s elder brother”). If Harper discusses this, it is because one of the prayers he translates mentions offerings made to grandparents, *zhangren*, boys and girls who died young 祆, and the director of destiny 司命. That is, by the year 79 A.D., the *zhangren* was no longer just a person who had a degree of authority but was a category of dead person who received offerings and prayers. In ancient Zhengyi texts, *zhangren* are always the second of a pair of gods—whence the suggestion to translate by “father-in-law” (or maternal uncle?): each pair of gods would thus conjoin two elders of divine lineages linked by marriage.

at once Lingbao and Zhengyi, occurs. The adepts will do the ritual “their chests naked and their hands tied” 束骸自縛,<sup>83</sup> the hair undone and their foreheads smeared with mud, the head suspended by hair tied to the ropes [that delimit the arena]” (1b3-4). The ritual will last three days and three nights, continues the text, and will be composed of six confessions each day<sup>84</sup> for the myriad ancestors and the living members of the family of the adept: “We will go to this family and, having purified ourselves by bathing, will pray this night” (2a1-2). The priest then asks the most high Triply Worthy One to be present at the ritual and order the subordinate agents, among whom the god of the earth, to protect the participants in the fast by “executing the demonic bandits” 誅滅鬼賊 (2a6-7).<sup>85</sup> Next is the proclamation of the precepts 說戒, preceded by a hymn of wisdom.<sup>86</sup> Very moralistic, these Ten

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- 83 The character translated “tied” (自) 縛, which gives the impression the participants in the fast had their hands tied behind their backs like criminals, is found, though with a different radical, in all the texts of similar type – the fasts of the three primes and the yellow register in the *Wushang biyao* – as well as in the source texts of this kind of confession, to wit the *Mengzhen ke* (18a8, 19a1, etc.) and the *Xiezui shangfa* (5a5, 5b4, etc.). In these texts, at the end of each confession addressed to the gods of a direction, the participants “remove their cap, strike their head on the ground, and then slap themselves in the face 自搏.” Tao Hongjing calls for the same sequence of acts in his commentary on the audience in the *Dengzhen yinjue*: “After paying homage and praying in a given direction, one must strike the ground with one’s head and slap oneself in the face” (3.9b9) – “on the cheeks” 搏頰, says the text of the fast of the yellow register (*Wushang biyao* 54.8b4, 9a6, etc.). But this does not mean there is a wrong character in the mud fast text, because the same description occurs multiple times (10b2, 12a2, 18a7), and also in that given in the commentary of the *Wugan wen*, 7b4-5. Basing himself on a remark along these lines in the *Erjiao lun* 二教論 of Dao An, Yamada, “Totan sai kô,” pp. 49 et 54, suggests that it is Lu Xiujing who added this element to the fast, as he added the reference to the funeral ritual of Antiquity by prescribing that a piece of jade be placed in the mouth of each participant. Kuo Liying, “Divination, jeux de hasard et purification dans le bouddhisme chinois : autour d’un *sūtra* apocryphe chinois, le *Zhanchajing*,” Gérard Fussmann (ed.), *Colloque franco-japonais sur l’adaptation du bouddhisme aux cultures locales* (Paris: Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient, 1991), p. 147, n. 5, mentions a third variant *zipu* 自撲, and refers to the numerous articles on the possible link between *zibo* 自搏 et *zipu* 自撲.
- 84 On the Buddhist background of this sextuple daily practice, see above, note 26. The *Taizhen ke* (*Sandong zhunang* 1.23a9) also calls for a ritual of this duration.
- 85 This entire passage develops according to the same logic and even shares vocabulary with the fast of the Three Sovereigns (49.4b-5a).
- 86 On the origin of this hymn, see above, note 68. As I indicated in *Somme taoïste*, p. 156, this entire section on the precepts comes from a text of the Lingbao canon, the *Zhihui dajie*. The term *shuojie* is probably of Buddhist origin, but its meaning in Buddhism is quite distant from its sense here, as in Buddhism it was one of the possible translations of the Sanskrit *uposāda*: “Il s’agit d’une assemblée réunie tous les quinze jours. Les

Commandments have no direct relationship to the fast as such, and it is only in the discursive part that we learn participants “must not eat after noon” (4b9). The nocturnal invocation ends with the extinction of the incense burner (taken from the *Mengzhen ke* 36b-37a) – a fact that implies there was also a rite for the burner-lighting – and a “hymn for the receipt of the commandments” which comes from the *Xiangong qingwen jing* (4b), “new text” already mentioned.

The next day, at dawn, the adepts enter anew on the sacred arena and, “in accord with the custom, bow to the masters and visualize the spirits” (6a8). This is followed by the incantations for the protection of the powers, five paragraphs which come from one of the “new texts,” the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenwen yaojie shangjing* 太上洞玄靈寶真文要解上經 (DZ 330; hereafter, *Zhenwen yaojie*), 6a-7a, and which are found at the same point in the Dunhuang manuscript Nature fast (Ofuchi, p. 146), as well as in the ritual of transmission of the Lingbao writs attributed to Lu Xiujing.<sup>87</sup> After the lighting of the burner – that of the *Mengzhen ke* (26b-27a) – comes the exteriorization of the officers, identical to that of the *Zhaijie wei yi* (50.8a-9b = 1b-3b). If there was still the slightest doubt about the Zhengyi origin of the mud fast, it should be convincing enough to note that the title “Zhengyi officer of merit” 正一功曹 occurs four times in these two pages. But even more interesting is the fact that, of some thirty categories of ritual agents invoked in this rite, nearly all of them may be found in Zhengyi register manuals.<sup>88</sup> The register which has the most obvious relationship is the *Taishang sanwu zhengyi mengwei lu* 太上三五正一盟威錄 (DZ 1208; hereafter, *Mengwei lu*). This text is composed of twenty-four registers corresponding to the successive levels of ordination. Certain categories, like the “officers of merit who activate the energies” 促氣功曹 (50.9a1), occur in the thirteenth register of the *Mengwei lu* (5.3b1), or in the fifteenth, like the barbarian Lord Lao of the five directions (50.9b4-5: see *Mengwei lu*, 5.12a2-

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moines confessent alors leurs péchés, selon les règles des *vinaya*”; see Kuo Li-ying, *Confession et contrition*, p. 19.

87 The *Shoudu yi*, 10a-11a. This text is preceded by a memorial written by Lu in which he evokes the seventeen years that have passed since he was ordained. The text in its present form must date to the Ming, as it is the Ming administrative system it refers to (49a: 某府某縣).

88 In his “Liuzhai kao,” Lü Pengzhi states that the “Lingbao rite for the exteriorization of the officers is an adumbration of that of the Heavenly Masters from the Han-Jin period” and refers to his published article, “Tianshidao shoulu keyi: Dunhuang xieben S 203 kaolun” 天師道授籙科儀——敦煌寫本S 203考論, *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 77.1 (2006), 79-166, pp. 107-09.

5). But the largest number of common categories is to be found in the first three registers (1.1b-11b): of eleven, twenty, and forty categories in these three registers respectively, ten, twelve, and nineteen are also found in the mud fast. I do not think this can be explained as incidental or accidental, for these first three registers correspond in fact to the lay initiations of the Zhengyi church. That is, the mud fast is a ritual whose participation and execution are relatively easy for all members of the church.<sup>89</sup> We may note, finally, that the same text of the officer exteriorization is used in the *Taishang dongshen xingdao shoudu yi* 太上洞神行道授度儀 (DZ 1283; hereafter, *Shoudu yi*), 4b-6a, of Lu Xiujing.

After a brief invocation (50.9b10-10a2 = *Zhaijie weiyi* 3b2-4), the priest reads the memorial, recalls the joint Heavenly Master and Lingbao authority under which this ritual for the pardon of sins is done,<sup>90</sup> and then convokes a whole series of cavalry and infantry 兵馬. This convocation (10b7-11a6) is virtually identical to that in the *Mengzhen ke* (28a2-b2), which I suspect itself to be of Zhengyi origin. For the evocation of the return of the officers into the priest's body at the end of the ritual (50.11a6-8), the text of the mud fast derives once again from the *Zhaijie weiyi* (3b9-4a1). The *Zhaijie weiyi* moves directly on to a triple offering of incense (4b-5b)<sup>91</sup> which is very close to – and no doubt derived from – the triple offering in the *Mengzhen ke* (28b-29b). The version of this offering in the mud fast (50.11a-13b) relies in the first place on the *Zhaijie weiyi*, but it also borrows from the *Mengzhen ke* and the *Xiezui shangfa*. After announcing the first offering, for example, the priest in the mud fast announces his title as “successor of the Heavenly Masters, libationer of diocese X and liturgist of the three supreme caverns of the most high Lingbao, master of mountain Y (11a10-b1), a title which

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89 We should note of course that the *Mengwei lu* is a Tang text with traces of Song-era editing. Song. If it is, therefore, difficult to be too categorical, the fact the *Mengwei lu* ascribes itself to the revelation of the “newly emergent Lord Lao” 新出老君 (5.12a10) makes it at the very least possible to affirm that the *Mengwei lu* contains ancient traces of the multiple Zhengyi traditions of the Six Dynasties. Be that as it may, and whatever the date of the *Mengwei lu*, it seems to me unthinkable to attribute to the author of the *Zhaijie weiyi* his list of ritual agents: he found it in a Zhengyi text.

90 The passage 50.10a6-b6, which has no parallel in Lingbao texts, is reproduced again as such at 50.18a2-10.

91 The beginning of this passage (4b1-2) is worth citing: “The host of the fast announces his title, ‘libationer of diocese X, master Y, servant so-and-so,’” implying, first, that the priest is doing this ritual for his own family and not for a client as in the mud fast and, second, that the priest in the *Fuzhai jing* is of the Zhengyi tradition, since he is a libationer. This confirms what I would call the Zhengyi orientation of the “new text” Lingbao group.



combines the libationer from the *Zhaijie weiyi* and the liturgist of the three caverns of the *Mengzhen ke*. Next is a renewed invocation (50.11b2-5) taken from the *Mengzhen ke* (27a8-b2), then a recollection of the ordination (50.11b7-8)<sup>92</sup> and an évocation of the myriad sins of the ascendants and living members of the family who wish to obtain pardon (50.12a6-9), based on the *Xiezui shangfa* (2a10-b1 and 2b8-3a2). Between the two citations from the *Xiezui shangfa* a second reading of the memorial is inserted, together with a renewed mention of the double foundation, Zhengyi and Lingbao, of the ritual.

It is only after these preliminaries that the triple offering as such begins. In it, the text of the mud fast alternates between the *Mengzhen ke* (DZ 1411) and the *Zhaijie weiyi* (DZ 532): 50.12b1-7 = **532**, 4b4-9, 5a2; 50.12b8-13a5 = **1411**, 29a3-9; 50.13a1-8 = **532**, 5a3-9; 50.13a9-b1 = **1411**, 29b4-6; 50.13b1-9 = **532**, 5a10-5b6. It is in the cracks between the borrowed lines that we catch glimpses of the distinctive traits of the mud fast: for example, where the *Zhaijie weiyi* asks that the merit of the first offering be transferred to the seven generations of ancestor (4b6), the mud fast makes this request for “the myriad generations of such-and-such a family, whether they died before or after, as well as for the deceased parents, that they may have their suffering 憂苦 reduced and may ascend to the heavenly hall (12a9-b1). The word “suffering” comes from the *Mengzhen ke* (28b6-7). For the third offering, the mud fast inserts a prayer for “all the officers and libationers” (13a10) and another for “such-and-such a family, that their misfortunes may be dispersed and good fortune be born, that their house may be peaceful and happy and the family prosperous” (13b3-4). Thus once again the Zhengyi qualifications of the master and the fact he celebrates this ritual at the request of a family are underlined.

Next is the rite of confessions in the ten and then the four directions. In both cases, the text of the mud fast begins by recalling that the fast is celebrated by “the male officer, libationer of such-and-such a family” 男官祭酒某甲家 (14a4, 15b1).<sup>93</sup> “For many years,” continues the text, “all

92 Lines which appear to be found only in the mud fast (11b9-10) affirm that, “on the day of his ordination, [the master] made a solemn vow before the Three Officers” to work with all his strength to “save all beings.”

93 When the text evoked the request that led to the ritual, the reference was, rather, to “so-and-so, male or female officers and inhabitants of prefecture, county, and township such-and-such” 某郡縣鄉里男女官生民某甲 (10a8). The same male and female officers are mentioned in the parallel passage at 50.20a5-6, where they are, in addition, called “co-sectarians” 同法. If, on occasion, only the “male officer and libationer” is mentioned (50.14a4), the most likely interpretation of the references to “male and

has gone badly, nothing has happened as we wish” (14a4-5), and the confession of the sins of the myriad ancestors and the living, done according to the method of the confession of mud of the lower Lingbao principle,<sup>94</sup> is to remedy this situation. The text of the confession for the ten directions is a slightly modified and abridged version of the confession for the east in the *Xiezui shangfa* (4a3-b7 = 50.14a7-b10).<sup>95</sup> The text for the four directions, very brief, evokes above all the desire of the family for a return to prosperity and peace. This rite seems to be inspired by the *Zhaijie weiyi* (6a), where it is not a confession but acts of homage and hopes that are made in the ten directions and are then followed by similar acts in the four directions, in the same order is in the mud fast: west, north, east, south, that is, in the same order as the audience revealed to Wei Huacun. Next the *Zhaijie* says to “turn toward the writs and express one’s desires three times, as at the start” (6b1). When these last salutations are finished, “the participants in the fast, while moving clockwise as they sing the hymn of the Walk in Space, circumambulate the incense burner three times.” It is no doubt to this sequence that the text of the mud fast is referring when it recommends ending with a visualization of an ordering of demons, the singing of the Walk in Space, and the salutation of the books “according to the method” (50.15b5).

The announcement of merit is done the next morning (15b6).<sup>96</sup> After having announced his title, the master, facing west,<sup>97</sup> undertakes a long invocation (15b10-17b10). Composed of pairs of divinities and *zhangren*, this invitation is primarily addressed to entities that may be called Zhengyi, among which the great Tao of non-action of the Most High and the Zhengyi alliance with the powers 正一盟威太上無為大道 (16a4), the twelve hundred

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female officers” is that we have to do with a Daoist family, in which both husband and wife have received registers.

- 94 It is interesting to note that only at this point is the singular authority of the Lingbao tradition invoked without at the same time mentioning the teaching of the Heavenly Masters. Is that because this type of confession is Lingbao in origin? We may recall here that the Zhengyi confession was addressed, in principle, only to the Three Officers, and certainly not to the ten directions.
- 95 The same text may be found in the fast of the three primes in the *Wushang biyao* (52.4a-5a). The texts of that fast and of the *Xiezui shangfa* are identical, with just a few variants. The reasons for the abbreviations in the text of the mud fast are not clear to me, anymore than the addition of the phrase concerning the “myriad uglinesses and great crimes without number” (14b2-3).
- 96 The term “announcement of merit” is not used in the text of the mud fast but is found in the parallel phrase in the *Xiezui shangfa* (12a7).
- 97 That is, the direction associated with the Heavenly Masters in the audience ritual in the *Dengzhen yinjue* 登真隱訣, Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456-536), DZ 421, 3.8a, 11a.

officers 千二百官君 (16b9), and the first three Heavenly Masters and their wives 天師女師嗣師女師係師女師 (17b6).<sup>98</sup> The whole of this invocation is found in the *Xiezui shangfa* (7a1-8b8) and, hence, in the fast of the three primes in the *Wushang biyao* (see above). The encyclopedia, however, eliminates the lines 7a2-b2 of the *Xiezui shangfa*, which include not only the great Tao of Zhengyi we just mentioned (7a7), but also the “newly emerged” Lord Lao (7a7). The mud fast also eliminates the latter. There are also a number of gods found only in the mud fast: the lords and *zhangren* of the talismanic contracts of the five energies 五氣符契諸君丈人, the Father of Mercy 慈父 and the Saintly Mother 聖母 (50.17a5-6), and the spirits of the twenty-four offices of inspections and complaints 考行狀二十四官 (17b1-2).

The passage which follows (18a1-b4) is virtually identical to 11b7-12a9 (cf. 10a6-b6). It leads to a final prayer for pardon very close in spirit and even contains some lines which are identical to those at the end of the earlier confession in the ten directions (19a2-5 = 15a3-5). After the rite of proclamation of twelve wishes, for which the text is not supplied, and the closing of the incense burner (that of the *Mengzhen ke*, as above), a final invocation leads to a recapitulation of the ritual and the evocation of the promotions to which the ritual agents may pretend. After having obtained their recompense in heaven, they must “return to the body of the servant” (21a4). The entire end of the text comes from the *Xiezui shangfa*: 50.19b7-20a5, 7-8 =, 12a7-b5; 50.20b6-21a6 (fin) = 12b10-13b1. The passage at

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98 This manner of inviting the Heavenly Masters is the result of a secondary elaboration: in the audience revealed to Wei Huacun, the invitation is addressed to the Heavenly Master, his wife, and their successor(s) 天師女師系師 (*Dengzhen yinjue*, 3.8a2). The version said to be from Hanzhong, in principle the original, is even simpler, as it is addressed only to the Heavenly Master (3.11a2). It is no doubt a waste of time to speculate excessively about these nuances, but it is possible they reflect an evolving account of origins: in the beginning, in Hanzhong, there was but one Heavenly Master, Zhang Lu; Wei Huacun, herself a libationer, adds the wife of the first Heavenly Master, in part to make a place for the now legendary Zhang Daoling, but also and perhaps above all to underline the ecclesiastical fact that adepts could become priests only after doing the union of energies ritual. Thus, in the version of Wei, we would have an invocation of Zhang Daoling, of his wife (of whom early narratives say more than of her husband!), and of their son, Zhang Lu. But we could just as well read both versions of the *Dengzhen yinjue* in the plural: “The heavenly masters and their wives, together with their successors (male and female).” The version of the *Wushang biyao*, by contrast, refers clearly to the sequence Zhang Daoling, Zhang Heng (of whom we know only a name), Zhang Lu, together with their wives: the legend – whose first meaning was liturgical – has frozen into history. We should note that the *Xiezui shangfa* invites here, rather, “the heavenly masters of high antiquity and their *zhangren*, the three masters and their *zhangren*” (8b5-6).

50.20a5-8 not found in the *Xiezui shangfa* evokes once again (cf. note 80) the origin of the ritual as requested of the “servant” by the “co-sectarian male and female officers so-and-so.”

### The structure of the mud fast

Let us now try to summarize the structural and discursive parts, whether Zhengyi or Lingbao, of this clearly central ritual. The summary of parallel passages shows clearly to what point the text of the ritual is dependent on the Lingbao canon:

- 2b-3a = **1364**<sup>99</sup>, 1a-b ; **524**, 7b-8a  
 3a-5b = **177**, 1a-2b, 4b, 5b-6a  
 5b = **1411**, 36b-37a  
 5b-6a = **1114**, 4b  
 6a-7b = **330**, 6a-7a, **528**, 10a-11b  
 7b = **1411**, 26b-27a  
 8a6-10a3 = **532**, 1b-3a  
 [8a4-10a2 = **528**, 4b-6a]  
 [10a6-b6 : cf. 18a2-10]  
 10b7-11a6 = **1411**, 28a2-28b2 (ajoute 言功 ; cf. **417**, 12a7)  
 11a6-8 = **532**, 3b9-4a1  
 11a10-b1 = **532**, 4b1, et **1411**, 27a7  
 11b1-6 = **1411**, 27a7-b4  
 11b7-8 = **417**, 2a10-b1  
 [11b7-12a9 = 18a1-b4]  
 12a6-9 = **417**, 2b8-3a2  
 12b1-7 = **532**, 4b4-9, 5a2  
 12b8-13a5 = **1411**, 29a3-9  
 13a1-8 = **532**, 5a3-9  
 13a9-b1 = **1411**, 29b4-6  
 13b1-9 = **532**, 5a10-5b6  
 14a7-b10 (abrégé) = **417**, 4a3-b7  
 15a3-4 = **417**, 5a1-2  
 15b1-4 : cf. **532**, 6a7-10

99 The bold numbers refer to the following texts: 177 = *Zhihui dajie* ; 330 = *Zhenwen yaojie* ; 417 = *Xiezui shangfa* ; 524 = *Zhuyuan yi* ; 528 = *Shoudu yi* ; 532 = *Zhaijie weiyi* ; 1114 = *Benxing suyuan jing* ; 1364 = *Guanshen dajie* ; 1411 = *Mengzhen ke*.

15b5 : cf. 532, 6b1  
 15b10-17b10 = 417, 7a2-8b8  
 18a1-2 = 417, 2a10-b1  
 [18a1-b4 = 11b7-12a9]  
 [19a2-5 = 15a3-5]  
 19b1-5 = 1411, 36b10-37a5  
 19b7-20a5, 7-8 = 417, 12a7-b5  
 20b6-21a6 (fin) = 417, 12b10-13b1

It suffices to look at this table to see that, on the discursive level, the extant mud fast text is largely of Lingbao origin, with all that implies of buddhization. Of course, we could insist immediately thereafter on the dependence of Lingbao on Zhengyi texts, but the details of this dependence have already been given, and it is more useful, at this point, to state precisely in what way, on the level of deep structure, this remains a Zhengyi ritual. First of all, the general framework is Zhengyi, in the very precise sense that the Lingbao movement simply took over the Zhengyi liturgical calendar and ecclesiastical structure built around the Three Officers and the three primes.<sup>100</sup> We may recall here that, from the very beginning of the Zhengyi movement, illness was thought to have moral causes and therefore to require the dispatch of written confessions: the famous “manuscript documents for the Three Officers” 三官手書. The most complete description of this bureaucratic system of reckoning with regard to faults and merits is found in the Lingbao text *Gongde qingzhong jing*, and it is Lu Xiuqing himself, in his *Daomen kelüe*, who gives us the classic description of the relationship between this system and that of the registers of initiation that formed the backbone of the Heavenly Master church.

It is on this last point I shall insist, for it is these registers which determine the basic structure of the mud fast. There are, in this structure, three essential moments: the exteriorization of the officers 出官 (the term is found at 8a4, the rite at 8a-9b), the reading of the petition 讀辭 (10a10; 9b-11b), and the return of the authentic officers into the body of the servant after their promotion in heaven in accord with their merit 真官隨功上詣玄都受秩，事

100 This fact is recalled in a passage found only in the mud fast: at 11b9 (and 18a2), right after two lines borrowed from the *Xiezui shangfa*, the priest states that, “On the day of my ordination 受法之日 I swore an oath before the Three Officers 與三官有誓, vowing to give my all in the promotion of the Great Transformation 奉宣大化. Hostage of the subterranean and celestial worlds 質對幽冥[明], I will help my masters and the elders in order to save all beings.”

竟各還臣等身中(21a3-4; 19b-21a). These three moments are obviously linked, as it is the officers that issue forth from the body of the priestly servant who, “punctually and distinctly, report the petition on high” 分別關奏，以時上達 (11a6-7) before returning, recompensed for the work accomplished, to the body of the master. If the Zhengyi priest knows how to send petitions to heaven in such a way that they arrive in the pertinent offices of the complex system, it is because he has, by receiving the successive registers of initiation, learned to “analyze” 分別 his body in terms of divine energies, or “authentic officers.” The Zhengyi liturgy consists in the dispatch of petitions to heaven by means of the vital energies visualized as authentic officers. The recompense for this symbolic work is the promotion of the officers on the servant’s registers, that is, the gradual refinement of his vital energies till he achieves immortality. Insofar as the “servant” has been thus recompensed in the context of the symbolic economy of the “pure alliance” 清約, it is easier to understand why “masters receive no salary” 師不受錢 (*Daomen kelue*, 1b).

## Conclusions

The close reading of the text of the mud fast thus confirms our reading of the canonical list of fasts by Lu Xiujing. If he is indeed, and that very decidedly, a Lingbao liturgist, not only does he continue to envisage the celebration of quite a number of Zhengyi rituals, the mud fast that he placed in a separate category and which he himself practiced in the company of his disciples in the year 453<sup>101</sup> proves to be a perfect example of the construction of the new Lingbao liturgy on a Zhengyi foundation, where the specifically Lingbao rites are inserted, without really modifying the basic structure, in the Zhengyi ritual. We even saw that the *Mengzhen ke*, text which describes the buddhized revelation of the primary Lingbao rituals, modeled itself to some extent on the Zhengyi mud fast. The ritual practice of Lu Xiujing was thus not at all in conflict with the vision of the Zhengyi church he gives us in his *Daomen kelue*.<sup>102</sup>

101 According to the biography of Lu Xiujing in the *Daoxue zhuan*, cited in the *Sandong zhunang*, 1.8a, in the year 471, Mingdi (r. 465-473) being ill, “the master, at the head of his disciples, undertook a fast of the three primes in the open air 三元露齋, in order to pray for the dynasty.” The emperor recovered from his illness. According to Yamada, this was in fact the same ritual as that celebrated in 453 (Yamada, “Totan sai kō,” p. 55).

102 Assuming nonetheless that the *Daomen kelue* is a work of Lu Xiujing’s youth, written before he became the Lingbao canon’s chief missionary, we can only speculate on why he seems to “cover up” the Zhengyi foundations of the Lingbao

Before closing, however, in order better to uncover the underlying ideology of the list of fasts, we must come back to the question of the fast of divine incantations which is not included on the list. According to Christine Mollier, a good share of the *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing* 太上洞淵神咒經 (DZ 335; hereafter, *Shenzhou jing*) was revealed during Lu Xiujing's lifetime,<sup>103</sup> and it seems to me highly probable that its partisans – and those who practiced its rites – were direct competitors of Lu for the patronage of the Liu-Song. The *Shenzhou* tradition, which emerges in connection with this apocalyptic, anti-Buddhist, and popular text (Mollier, pp. 32-33, 49), is in fact a rival of the Heavenly Masters: “People of the three caverns should not commingle with Daoists of the Yellow and the Red 黃赤道士 (Zhengyi adepts). Daoists who worship [the *Shenzhou jing*] are ritual masters of the three caverns who must dwell in the mountains and flee the polluted world. They should establish dioceses which are clearly distinct from those of the Daoists of the Yellow and Red living in the world.”<sup>104</sup> The popular character of this tradition may be seen in a general way in its simple literary style and, more particularly, in the fact “qu’il ne fait aucune allusion à la vie des cités, mais le milieu rural est souvent évoqué... Cette valorisation de la plèbe est

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liturgical canon. The simplest hypothesis would be that he took over the approach of the Lingbao canon itself: having synthesized *fangshi*, Buddhist, and Zhengyi traditions, it superceded them all. They all now belonged to the past, as the present belonged to Lingbao. The incorporation of Zhengyi liturgical traditions would then be one concrete example of the process described by Stephen Bokenkamp in “The silkworm and the bodhi tree: the Lingbao attempt to replace Buddhism in China and our attempt to place Lingbao Daoism,” in *Religion and Chinese society: the transformation of a field in Religion*, John Lagerwey, ed. (Hong Kong: EFEO and Hong Kong University Press, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 317-39. Cf. also his “The pre-history of Laozi: his prior career as a woman in the Lingbao scriptures,” in *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* vol. 14 (2004), 403-21, especially p. 408: “The Lingbao scriptures were composed to replace all previous spiritual knowledge with higher and more enduring truths. This they state explicitly from beginning to end.” Cf. p. 411, where Bokenkamp notes that Zhang Daoling “appears as the lowest-ranked of the Five Perfected that descend to instruct Ge Xuan. What the inclusion of Zhang Daoling here mean – in line with my earlier point that the Lingbao scriptures are consciously constructed proselytizing texts – is that the Lingbao texts targeted Celestial Master adherents for conversion to the new doctrines of Lingbao.”

103 Christine Mollier, *Une apocalypse taoïste du Ve siècle: Le Livre des incantations divines des grottes abyssales* (Paris: Collège de France, 1990), pp. 56-59.

104 10.8a10-b3; cf. Mollier, pp. 72 and 82. The text continues, however, by stating that the masters of the three caverns, if they wish nonetheless to do a ritual with these masters “in the world,” must choose “a good day.” (Mollier understands this to concern the rite of the union of energies, an interpretation which, if legitimate, does not clearly impose itself.)

encore plus manifeste lorsque le *Shenzhou jing* cherche l'adhésion des illettrés : 'Si l'on ne sait pas lire, il suffit lorsqu'on reçoit [le livre saint], de le faire copier'" (Mollier, 71). Many other popular elements could be mentioned, but they may all find their summary in the exorcistic character of the fast of divine incantations as that can be glimpsed in the only text to include it among canonical fasts, the *Yebao*: "It is the best ritual to exorcise epidemics, sweep away perverse spirits, and chase away evil perversity" (5.4b2-3). By resolutely ignoring this contemporary movement, Lu Xiuqing clearly affirmed the elitist, literati-oriented nature of his community, by contrast with those "decadent" communities of masters who were paid well for their liturgical services and who never went to the Church's festivals to have their registers brought up to date and to pay the "cultic tithe." Reforming intellectual, he wanted the Church and its masters to restrict themselves to the symbolic economy, and not intrude on the prerogatives of the state. Tolerant, he was the friend of Buddhists and spent his life integrating the new moral economy of Buddhism into the archaic system of the cosmological bureaucracy of the Heavenly Masters. His liturgical and doctrinal synthesis made it possible for Daoism to become a state religion, but thrust outside the walls of the Church its unwashed "catholic masses" with their mundane material concerns.

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